595 five wives or even seven or eight wives. The higher the man's position the more wives he had." It is well [554] known that Chief Tsukinoi of Kunashiri had eighteen wives. Each of these wives had separate homes and in the *Tsugaru Kibun* [Strange Stories About Tsugaru] we find:

> Those who left the village to work had a wife at each place they stopped. However these women were wives in name only as they were given no support for living. Whenever the men left for work they rested at these houses or they even made a trip for the sole purpose of visiting these wives after which they would return to their permanent dwellings.

It has been suggested that the polygamy of the Ainu was due to carnal excess or to the vanity of having many wives or to the desire for many children. However, I believe that Ainu polygamy was due to the prevalence of compassionate marriage in their society and there is evidence for this belief. In the *Ezo Shima Ki* it says, "When a man died, his wife instead [768] of going to her kinsfolk, went to live with her husband's close relatives. Therefore, a man with many relatives had many wives." Polygamy also seems to have resulted from the custom of the rich caring for the widows as is seen in *Watarishima Hikki*:

[622] It was usual for the chief to have many wives. Although those of ill character took advantage of this custom and caused no little trouble, yet this custom was not due to their licentious desires. Those who were poor or weak from old age and who realized that their daughters would not be secure in their livelihood as the wife of an average man asked the chief to take their daughter as his mistress.

[556] It is true that those with many wives gained great economic benefit from their free labor and later there arose the custom of taking many wives simply for the economic advantages. The *Matsumae Shi* states: "Those who were supporting many wives were, without exception, always wealthy."

567 Slaves, called *Utare*, existed in Ainu society. Although there have been various opinions about the exact status of the *Utare*, the *Ezo Fūdoki* takes them to be slaves: "There were slaves called *Utare*. When in the presence of a chief they extended their hands, bent their bodies and never failed to show respect. During periods of mourning at their master's house they served him food." The *Ezo Sōshi* refers to them as follows: "Those with power and wealth had many house servants called *Utare* who served hereditarily. When the master went out of the village to work, his *Utare* and his wives accompanied him and would help the master." The *Moshiogusa* [Vocabulary of Ainu] refers to them as retainers or servants. Batchelor says, however, that the word *Utare* originally meant "fellowmen" or "man" and Dr. Kindaichi in his *Karafuto Ainu Goi* [Karafuto Ainu Vocabulary][52]

[52] Kindaichi Kyōsuke trans., *Ainu Monogatari* (Ainu stories), Suppl.

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2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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888 as soon as she was buried. The purpose of the burning
761 was to send the place to heaven for her convenience!
●[768] This may sound peculiar but it is an undoubted part of the Ainu animistic creed. One piece of lore concerning this custom, one which I find is not carried out at present, is this:

768 "When a man's wife dies, the husband must burn the house and send it off in that way with her to heaven. The husband may not marry a second time, hence he will not require the hut upon this earth; but he will want it in heaven when he there rejoins his spouse." This only refers to the principal wife, as the others have their own separate dwellings.

But here, I think, it will be well to explain what I mean by animism.

[771] The Ainu are a deeply religious race and their ani-
761 mistic philosophy has carried them to great lengths. They not only believe that beasts, birds, fishes and growing trees and all plants have their own individual lives, but they hold, too, that inorganic substances have life as well. The people not only infer that whatever has life can and does move, but also that whatever moves must have life. Hence the bubbling spring, the sparking, rippling rivulet, the gently gliding stream, the rushing torrent, the flying clouds, the whistling winds, the pouring rain, the roaring storm, the restless ocean, and all such phenomena have, in their opinion, real lives abiding in them. So the hut of the old lady
[768] above mentioned was to them a real living being, the visible material parts of which, being burnt up, allowed the living spirit to ascend to heaven for her soul to reside in! In their idea no existing life can ever cease to be, whether it be good or evil, and immortality with them is as natural as nature itself. Life and living spirit are one and the same thing with them, and are never separated in thought or conception. To them life is the most intelligent, energetic and natural object in existence, and as regards its

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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were left standing up by the frame. They were about six inches in diameter and were very smoothly trimmed off level at the edges and tops. I have often seen them used for chopping small things. The chief sometimes used that in his corner of the hearth for cutting his tobacco leaves on, and for beating bits of dried fish on before toasting them at the fire. But they were most often used as rests when making and shaving fetishes, or when forming sticks into ceremonial moustache-lifters or arrows for baiting bear cubs with, at the famous bear festivals. At present, however, the custom of having them is dying out, as the houses are now being built after the Japanese fashion. Today some of the huts do not have them at all. These two small posts were regarded as the special personal fetishes of the male head of the family. Should the house not be burned down at the time of his death, they were pulled up and reverently burned upon the hearth and others substituted for himself by his successor.

As for the wood used in making them, I was told that the very best is the sacred *pungau*, *i.e.* "lilac" (*Syringa japonica*). This is said to be hard and strong and is sometimes used for making fetishes for the best of the divine Spirits. The wood of this little tree well withstands the decomposing effects of damp earth, so the chief pillars of the huts were formed of it. So also were the shafts of arrows which were used with the spring-bows set out in the open by the tracks or runs of wild animals. Nails and pegs and skewers were made out of it by the old people.

There are no chimneys in Ainu huts, but a hole is purposely left in one or both angles of the roof for the escape of the smoke. They do not always work, and the smoke is often a great trouble to one's eyes and throat. To those sitting close upon the ground it is much better than for such as may be standing or sitting on anything two or three feet high. Still, it is fine for any fish or meat which may be hanging in the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

most distant point from the door and the window. Occasional callers are received on the side nearest to the door.

The few Ainu who possess mats on which they sit during the day hang them up at night round the hut, probably to protect themselves from the liberal ventilation, which even those who are used to it find trying when a gale is blowing or the thermometer is very low.

There is no particular spot inside the hut set apart for meals, and the refuse is either thrown into a corner of the hut or flung outside the door and left there. It is difficult to say whether the inside or the outside of an Ainu hut is the dirtier. Heaps of stinking refuse are accumulated round the dwellings, and in summer-time these heaps are alive with vermin—mosquitoes, flies, *abu*, and black-flies. It is quite sufficient to move a step from the door to see a cloud of these noxious insects rise, and each one of them will have a bite at you.

Inside the house you are no better off. *Taikki* (fleas) are innumerable, and of all sizes, not to mention other well-known but usually anonymous enemies of the human skin.

The first night I slept in an Ainu hut, though I was provided with insecticide powder, I was literally covered with bites. With my fondness for statistics I proceeded to count them, and only from my ankle to my knee I counted as many as 220. The rest of my body and my head were covered in the same proportion, but I gave up the attempt to ascertain the exact number—the task was too overwhelming. My skin, however, got so inflamed by these bites as to produce fever, which lasted two or three days. After that time I never again suffered to such an extent, perhaps owing to the fact that no free spot was left to attack, or may be from that curious process called acclimatisation.

The Ainu huts are built entirely above ground, and are used alike in winter and summer.

In olden times the hut was always destroyed at the death of its owner, or when abandoned; but in the former case the custom is seldom practised now, and in the latter they are merely left to decay.

It is singular that migrating Ainu, coming across an uninhabited hut, never live in it, but build a new one for themselves.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Kurilsky Ainu until quite recently destroyed their huts when migrating from one island to another. They also burnt the huts of deceased persons. It is needless to say that the Ainu have no churches, no hotels, no hospitals, and no public buildings of any kind. The huts in villages are a little way from one another, and each hut has directly in front a separate storehouse, built on piles or posts so as not to be accessible to wolves, dogs, or rats. These are small structures, the architecture of which has the local characteristics of the habitations, with the exception that they are invariably on piles, while the habitations are on the ground. Clothes, furs, mats, and winter provisions of sea-weed are kept in these storehouses, and access to them is by means of a peculiar ladder. It is a mere log of wood, six or seven feet in length, pointed at one end, and with five or six incisions, which serve as steps, and remind me of the steps cut by an ice-axe in a glacier or on frozen snow. Natives go up and down these ladders with ease, even when carrying heavy weights on their heads; and good care is always taken to remove the ladder when leaving the storehouse. Women principally look after these storehouses, and seem to have the whole care and control of them. I have often seen an Ainu girl—for a storehouse could hardly hold more than one—sitting on the tiny door working at her lord and master's *Atzis* robe. Hour after hour I have seen her sitting there, working patiently till the sun has set and the darkness has come. Her materials were then stowed away; the mat at the door was let down; the ladder descended and kicked away; and sadly singing in her soft falsetto voice, she retired into the dirt and dark of her habitation.

The storehouses stand about six feet above the level of the ground, and are generally on four, six, or eight piles. Upon each pile is placed a large square piece of wood turned downwards at the sides, so as not to be accessible to rats and mice. Upon these square pieces of wood rest horizontally four rafters, forming a quadrangle about eight feet square. The small storehouse has as a base this quadrangle, and is seldom high enough to allow of an adult to stand inside.

Storehouses are thatched like all other houses. On

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

own dwelling. The levirate was preferential except when the deceased husband was the eldest son; then the widow was expected to remain unmarried. The sororate was not prohibited, but was apparently not a preferred form of marriage.

At marriage a man left his family of orientation and established a separate household near his patrikin,[2] and his wife came to live with him. The eldest son looked after his parents and inherited (or at least held in custody) certain properties which were traditionally transmitted patrilineally. The eldest son's descent line constituted the main line of descent, while younger sons established branches.

The family was dissolved at the death of either spouse. A widower built a new house near his close patrikin, while a widow lived with her brother or her mother's brother. Male children of a family which was dissolved, either by a parent's death or by divorce, were looked after by their father's kinsmen, often being adopted into their families, and the care of female children fell to their mother's kinsmen—practices which are in consonance with the Ainu descent rules.

Kinship Terminology

The most important kinship terms of the Saru Ainu are listed, defined, and discussed below:

1 *ekashi:* grandfather, great-grandfather, male ancestor. A great-grandfather was also called *makta ekashi.*

2 *kuchi:* grandmother, great-grandmother, female ancestor. A great-grandmother was also called *makta kuchi.*

3 *ona* (or *onaha*): father (in reference only). The term of address for father was *michi.* The inhabitants of the lower Saru River are said to have used *iyapo* instead of *michi.* The terms *kanna* ("upper") and *sapa* ("head") connoted father in such expressions as *kanna samma* ("paternal"), *shine sapa ko utar* (meaning brothers by the same father) and *oya sapa kor kur* (meaning brothers by different fathers).

4 *unu* (or *unuhu*): mother (in reference only). The term of address for mother was *hapo.* The term *popke* ("warm") also connoted mother in the phrase *popke samma* ("maternal"). On the upper Mukawa River children, it is reported, addressed their mother as *totto* ("breast").

5 *achapo:* uncle (paternal or maternal), father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, foster father, stepfather (in address). A foster father was referred to as *iresu achapo* and a stepfather as *mama michi* (*mama* is the Japanese word for "step-"). Paternal and maternal uncles could be distinguished as *kanna samma achapo* and *popke samma achapo,* respectively. The term *keushut* also meant uncle, although it also referred to a male ancestor or an elderly man.

6 *unarpe:* aunt (paternal or maternal), father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, foster mother, stepmother (in address). A foster mother was referred to as *iresu unarpe* and a stepmother as *mama hapo.* Paternal and maternal aunts could be distinguished as *kanna samma unarpe* and *popke samma unarpe,* respectively.

7 *irwak* (or *irpe*): sibling. In the narrowest sense this term meant brother (male speaking), but it was also used for a sister (female speaking) and, in a very broad sense, was extended to any kinsman. This term was used only in reference.

Half siblings by the same father were called *oya unu korkur,* and those by the same mother, *oya sapa korkur.* All brothers, full or half, by the same father were called *shine onaha ir-utar, shine onaha esap utar,* or *shine sapa korkur.* All sisters, full or half, by the same mother were called *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar, shine unuhu esap utar,* or *shine unu korkur.*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui*.

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
● 768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is
178 about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

Variants in Funeral Customs

789
775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

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172 342 On the many caves and remnants of huts the Ainu give less varied and contradictory reports. They attribute stone tools and potsherds to the Tonchi who formerly lived there. The Ainu can even exactly distinguish their own old caves and clay huts from the dwellings of [171] the Tonchi. The caves of the latter are deeper but narrower than those of the Ainu. Not far from the Taraika Lake one finds on sandy hills over an extension of several kilometers caves which the Ainu believed to be dwellings of the Tonchi. In some of these caves I took measurements and obtained the following results: depth, one and one-fourth to one and one-half meter, width of the square-shaped entrance, four and one-fourth to five meters. The depth of the Ainu caves, however, never exceeded about one meter, while its diameter was considerably larger than that of the Tonchi caves.

[171] Another difference between the Tonchi caves and the remains of the Ainu huts lies in the fact that the latter show in their background [30] a conical hole of varying size. These are the so-called toj simpuj, i.e. earth wells, out of which earth was taken for the fabrication of the clay roofs. The longer the inhabitants stay in the same yurt the more their roof crumbles off and the more earth for its repair is fetched from the earth-well, which therefore becomes deeper and deeper. There are "wells" whose depth is two meters but whose circumference in its widest place reaches up to seventeen-and-a-half meters. These wells, by the way, are not found in all the huts which according to [168] the Ainu came down from their ancestors. They explain that a winter yurt is vacated at once and for good whenever a member of the family had died in it. If this happens shortly after they have moved into the yurt, perhaps in the first year, no trace of a "well" is found in the spacious cave. In the building of the hut the earth dug out from under the hut itself is entirely sufficient for the production of the roof. The 173 223 same conical openings were also found next to many Tonchi caves, the origin of which, however, is different. Some generations ago the Ainu used these Tonchi huts in order to stage very extraordinary eagle hunts. A bait was placed in the cave, usually the fresh meat of a killed dog, whereupon the whole cave, with the exception of an upper and side opening, was covered with mats so that it closely resembled a tent. The first opening ~~served the~~ eagle who was allured